



The Life Cycle of a Bank Enforcement Action and Its Impact on Minority Lending

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The views expressed in this presentation are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Federal Reserve Board or the Federal Reserve System.





Motivation

- Mortgage lending is a large consumer finance market
 - Outstanding loan amounts of around \$10 trillion in 2019 [NYFRB, 2020]
- Homeownership conveys important social and economic benefits
 - Homeownership tied to intergenerational wealth transfers, explains wealth gap between whites and minorities [Blau Graham(1990); Collins Margo(2001); Di et al. (2007); Newman Holupka (2016); Shapiro (2006); Wainer Zabel (2020)]
 - Children of homeowners have higher educational attainment, lower likelihood of incarceration [Aaronson (2000); Green et al. (1997)]





Motivation

- Despite over 50 years of legislative initiatives, mortgage lending discrimination remains an important issue and the subject of ongoing research and policy considerations
- Although algorithmic lenders have reduced disparity, the issue of discrimination in mortgage lending remains [[Bartlett et al.,\(2019\)](#)]
- We aim to understand the special role that bank regulators and supervisors play in shaping banks' lending decisions with respect to minority borrowers





Research Question

- How does the supervisory enforcement process affect banks' borrower base in residential mortgage lending, specifically with respect to minority borrowers?
- What mechanisms drive the change?





Bank Enforcement Actions

- Enforcement decisions and orders (EDOs) have been issued by bank regulators since 1966 (FISA)
- Disclosed since August 9, 1989 (FIRREA)
 - Measure of last resort
 - Force banks to take corrective actions
 - We focus on the most severe types: Cease and Desist (C&D), Formal or Supervisory Agreements, Consent Orders, Prompt Corrective Actions (PCA)





Enforcement Actions are Disruptive for Banks

- EDOs force banks to cut risky lending, change management, increase capital and provisions, and improve internal control systems
- We find that deposits and deposit market shares decline during an EDO, revert thereafter
 - Sample banks rely heavily on deposit funding (loan to deposit ratio of 0.79)
- We find a corresponding decline in total loans and commercial loans
 - Surprisingly, we find no significant decline in residential mortgages





EDO Banks Increase Lending to Minorities

	Average number of distinct counties where EDO banks are active	Average number of distinct counties where EDO banks lend to minorities	Of which: minority population greater than 50% of county population
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Pre EDO (year -3)	22	6	3
Pre EDO (year -2)	22	7	3
Pre EDO (year -1)	22	7	3
During EDO (annualized, on average)	21	6	3
Post EDO (year 1)	25	8	3
Post EDO (year 2)	27	9	3
Post EDO (year 3)	29	9	4
Post EDO (year 4)	31	10	4
Post EDO (year 5)	31	11	4

- Expand geographic footprint in lending to minorities (defined as non-white borrowers)
 - Increase in minority lending is not driven by expansion into majority-minority counties





EDO Banks Increase Lending to Minorities

	Portfolio shares of residential mortgage loans to minorities	Market shares of residential mortgage loans to minorities
	(1)	(2)
During EDO	-1.380** (-2.269)	-0.074 (-1.612)
Post EDO (year 1)	1.010 (1.222)	0.916*** (14.342)
Post EDO (year 2)	2.474*** (3.050)	0.947*** (15.085)
Post EDO (year 3)	1.177 (1.477)	0.869*** (13.958)
Post EDO (year 4)	4.423*** (5.476)	1.133*** (18.202)
Post EDO (year 5)	6.046*** (7.334)	1.413*** (21.971)
Observations	162,769	497,594
Wald χ^2	414***	8873***
Estimation method	RE Tobit	RE Tobit
Controls	Yes	Yes
Year, County, Bank RE	Yes	Yes
Years	1994–2018	1994–2018

- Portfolio share of lending to minorities increases by 2.5%–6.0% (mean: 6.5%)
- County-level market share in mortgage lending to minorities increases by 0.87%–1.41% (mean: 0.41%)





EDO Banks Increase Lending to Minorities

- Empirical challenge: EDOs are not randomly assigned
 - We study changes in county-level market shares: EDO banks expand lending to minorities relative to all banks in a county
 - EDOs are staggered in time and vary by geography
 - Controls for bank characteristics, county-level employment growth, year and bank effects
 - Robustness: Control samples of non-EDO banks matched on bank characteristics, and non-EDO banks randomly selected by year and geography





EDO Banks Increase Lending to Minorities

- Decline in loan application denials
 - Pre-EDO: minority borrowers are 11% more likely to be denied a mortgage relative to white borrowers
 - Post-EDO: denials for minorities falls by half
 - Decline in denials driven by less risky refinancing and home equity loans
 - Drop in denials unlikely to translate to a corresponding increase in homeownership
- Less reliance on nonprice terms
 - Nonprice terms used by banks to ration credit
 - Minorities more likely to be constrained by such terms
 - Post-EDO: minorities are 0.86% less likely to be rejected for a mortgage due to their credit history





No Increase in Portfolio Risk Post-EDO Termination

- Decline in total nonperforming assets
- Decline in nonperforming residential mortgage loans
- No change in share of risky loans in total residential mortgage loans at the county-level
 - Risky loans are higher-priced closed-end mortgages





Our Findings Thus Far...

- EDO banks face disruptions in deposit-generating and lending abilities
- The decline in loans does not extend to EDO banks' residential mortgage portfolio
 - Portfolio and county-level market shares of loans to minorities increase
 - Decline in denials of mortgage applications from minorities
 - Driven by less risky refinancing and home equity loans
 - Less reliance on nonprice terms
 - No increase in riskiness of loans





Why Do Banks Increase Lending to Minority Borrowers Post EDO Termination?

1. Improvements at the bank: remedy issues
 - E.g., violation of fair lending laws
 - Review and update risk assessment procedures (e.g., use additional sources of information)
2. Manage Capital Ratios: residential mortgages have lower risk weights
3. Cater to regulators to gain future leniency
 - EDO banks lose credibility with their regulators: invite greater scrutiny in the future
 - Regulators may exercise forbearance towards banks that lend to minorities
4. Increase in competition from non-EDO banks may cause expansion to previously underserved borrowers





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Evidence: Improvements due to the Enforcement Process

- Banks less likely to deny credit based on nonprice terms following EDO termination suggests changes in credit assessment procedures
- No increase in riskiness of loans post EDO termination
- EDO banks that are more likely to witness greater improvements increase lending to minorities more
 - Banks in states with stricter regulators
 - Banks that received more severe EDOs (length of time to exit the EDO)





Evidence: Catering to Regulators

- Banks with stricter regulators and more severe EDOs also have greater incentives to cater
- Banks with low CRA ratings in the pre-EDO period increase lending to minorities more
 - The Community Reinvestment Act was enacted by Congress in 1977 to encourage credit availability in low and moderate-income areas
 - Banks need to maintain a satisfactory CRA rating if they plan to expand or make any substantial changes to their operations





Summary and Conclusions

- Explore the impact of supervision and enforcement on bank borrower base
 - EDO banks increase lending to minority communities following EDO termination
 - Evidence consistent with improvements due to the enforcement process, and banks' catering to regulators
- Increase in lending driven by less risky refinancing and home equity loans
 - Unlikely to lead to a corresponding rise in homeownership among minority communities

